RRR
ROTHBARD-ROCKWELL REPORT
DECEMBER 1993 VOLUME IV, NUMBER 12

The Big Government Libertarians: The Anti-Left-Libertarian Manifesto

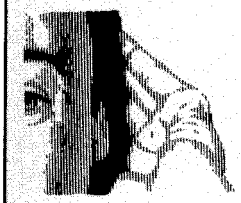
by Murray N. Rothbard

Approximately four years ago, Lew Rockwell and I broke with the Libertarian Movement to found the "paleolibertarian movement," a break which roughly coincided with our fusion with the "paleoconservatives" in the John Randolph Club and our Establishment of *RRR*. (The Libertarian Movement, which we can roughly call the "Official Libertarians," is a loosely organized network that includes the Libertarian Party, *Liberty* magazine, *Reason* magazine, and various free-market thinktanks and institutions.) Our own "rightward turn" was the consequence of the dramatic end of the Soviet Union and Cold War, and the reappearance of America First and "isolationism" as a viable foreign policy for a rejuvenated and reconstituted American Right. But our dramatic break also resulted from what we saw as a festering and escalating Left-egalitarianism within the Official Libertarian movement. Shortly before our break with the Official Libertarians, I told some of the leadership that I believed that egalitarianism was endemic to this movement allegedly devoted to individualism and to the inviolable rights of private property. In particular, I mentioned a fondness for the socialist, compulsory integrationist "Dr." Martin Luther King. These leaders assured me that there was no egalitarianism or King-loving in the libertarian movement; six months later, and after our break had occurred, these same leaders were singing the praises of "Dr." King as a model "libertarian."

In the past four years, the Official Libertarians have catapulted Leftward at an accelerating rate. At every hand, while still mouthing general "libertarian" slogans, this Official Movement is increasingly abandoning libertarian principles and embracing leftist egalitarian statism.

My old friend Harry Elmer Barnes used to write bitterly about "pro-war pacifists," a

(Cont. page 2, col. 3)



THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

It's a crying shame: Doug Ireland, columnist for the leftist *Village Voice*, has been fired by the *Voice* for "irreconcilable differences" and replaced by dull James Ledbetter. Ireland is a veteran political analyst, a tough and implacable anti-Clintonian, who was a great source of political gossip. We'll miss him.

* * * * *

John Vernon, long-time leader in the Libertarian Party, who moved from owning a gay bar in Oklahoma to becoming the "omelet king" of Los An-

(Cont. next page, col. 1)

INSIDE

Rating Senate Republicans 7
The Anti-Clinton Election, by M.N.R. 9
Quotes That Need No Comment 10
Bosnian Update: No Peace, No Peace-Keeping, by M.N.R. 14
Our Libertarianism, and Theirs, by Justin Raimondo 15
Rating Senate Republicans 16
The Real Clarence Thomas, by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr. 19
More Quotes That Need No Comment 21
The Freedom To Hire and Fire, by L.H.R., Jr. 22
Envy vs. Capitalism, by L.H.R.,Jr. 23

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(THE EAR cont. from pg. 1)
geles as a caterer, died recently at the age of 53, of AIDS.

* * * * *

George Bush used to be criticized as "so WASP he would get out of the ocean to pee." Well, give me that over Hill Billy Clinton, who—as noted in "Inside the Beltway"—makes a practice of urinating on golf courses.

* * * * *

Spy magazine notes that "William F. Buckley, Jr., made [recent] Yale history when he ran up a bill [not his] in excess of $500 at a New Haven restaurant, at one point bellowing, 'Waiter, bring me a bottle of wine before I pass out.'"

* * * * *

Congrats to the second R for helping kill the school voucher initiative in California. As *Wall Street Journal* reporter Tim Ferguson notes, it was Lew who aired the arguments that defeated 174: it would have meant government control of private schools, and by erasing school district lines, it would have also have sunk home prices and led to massive busing.

* * * * *

The national Libertarian Party, since its convention on the Labor Day weekend at Salt Lake City under total control of long-time California leader Bill "Mr. Stanford" Evers, has joined all the other Official Libertarians in endorsing NAFTA. How does Evers, who has built a long-term reputation as an LP "purist," justify this sellout to statism? By noting libertarian concerns about NAFTA, but pledging the LP to "oppose" these unwelcome consequences. Big Deal! Thus, the Evers' drafted resolution proclaims the glories of free trade, and then says that the mighty forces of the LP will "oppose all efforts to turn North America into an exclusionary voting bloc," and will "oppose any efforts to turn NAFTA into a vehicle for political and bureaucratic interference with the property rights" through the side agreements. Well, a fig for your "opposition," Bill, since NAFTA *includes* these consequences within it; he who supports NAFTA, supports these results you claim to "oppose."

In addition, Bill Evers's "purism" fails to note the fact that the points of origin protectionism against Japan and others starts right away, while the free trade with Mexico is phased in over fifteen years; and fails to point out the built-in "protection" against "import surges"; as well as the multi-billion dollars that NAFTA commits the U.S. government in foreign aid to the Mexican ruling elite.

Well, the LP resolution will scarcely make a political impact, but it is another important bit of evidence on the massive move left-ward and State-ward, of Official Libertarians. Evers added to the resolution his own political spin: that a defeat for NAFTA would "set back the cause of free trade for decades." No Bill, it would set back the cause of international statism, super-government bureaucracy, and subsidized American exports. Since when does a "libertarian purist" call that system "free trade"? ■

(BIG GOV. cont. from page 1)
group that has recently redoubled in force since the Gulf War. Similarly, we can trace the rise of another malignant group: "Big Government libertarians." The fact that both of these concepts are oxymorons does not slow these people down one whit; on the contrary, it allows them to keep the cloak, the outward form, of their original creed (whether pacifism or libertarianism) in order to camouflage the diametrically opposed content underneath. "Wolves in sheep's clothing" sums up their strategy. In that way, the libertarian public is fooled into changing their own creed without realizing the trick that has been played upon them. The great Old Right analyst Garet Garrett aptly called this sort of wily tactic "Revolution within the form."

Thus: the essence of the libertarian creed is that the only "rights" are the rights of private property, including the right of property in one's own person. And yet, the Official Libertarians have increasingly embraced a panoply of new, left-wing rights, each of which necessarily adds extra aggression against the rights of property. "Civil rights," sanctified by "Dr." King, are a clear-cut example. No one ever has the "right not to be discriminated" against; for such "rights" invade the inviolable right of the property-owner—whether householder or employer—to discriminate as much as he darn well pleases, and for whatever reason. And yet, the Official Libertarians have now adopted "civil rights" as their own, and the leading "lib-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ertarian'' legal group, the Washington-based Institute for Justice, attempts to use the courts to enforce civil rights concepts. Essentially, libertarians now favor civil rights, but, like the neoconservatives, they balk at their logical extension in affirmative action and enforced quotas for accredited ''victim groups.''

If Official Libertarians offer any sort of argument for their embrace of the statist concept of ''civil rights,'' it is usually that such rights, even if not strictly following from principle, are needed to ''offset'' or ''compensate'' blacks for several hundred years of slavery. But of course another essential aspect of libertarian ''rights'' is that they pertain strictly to each individual, and do not accrue over time to some ''group'' or ''class.'' The idea that ''we owe blacks'' for slavery overlooks several critical points (in addition to the fact that the process of initial enslavement was never white-on-black, but always black-on-black among warring African tribes): (a) that ''we'' existing folk never enslaved anyone; (b) that existing blacks were never enslaved; and (c) that there is never any suggested time or quantitative limit to this ''compensation.'' How long and how much O Lord?

The idea that ''we owe blacks'' for slavery overlooks several critical points.

But since the impulse for this drive is egalitarian, i.e., that all groups, races, classes, etc.—if not all individuals—are ''really'' equal, this means that this compensation will never stop until average black and white incomes, wealth, status, etc. are all equal. And since equality of individuals and groups does not and cannot exist, this means that the proposed ''compensation'' is forever.

Since libertarians are individualists who believe that each individual is a person of different merits who should go as far as his merit can carry him, libertarians are not *supposed* to be egalitarian, and indeed none of the libertarian masters, including Ayn Rand who was the guru for the bulk of current libertarians, was in any sense egalitarian. And yet there it is: egalitarianism has become the unspoken but very real driving force in the current Official movement.

Once group egalitarianism becomes the norm, other groups than blacks will clamor for the privileges of ''victim status.'' Sure enough, that jostling for victim privilege is now the major hallmark of American politics. The Official libertarians have so far not displayed enormous affinity for Latino or disabled ''rights,'' but they are highly enthusiastic about the ''rights'' of women and feminism generally. And in particular, libertarians have displayed great fervor for gay ''rights'' and stress the evils of ''discrimination'' against gays. So ardently are libertarians devoted to gay rights that the word ''libertarian'' in the public press has now become almost a code word for champion of gay rights. Only his pro-gay agenda accounts for the ardor of Republican libertarians towardMassachusetts Governor Weld, whom they embrace as, in the current slogan, ''fiscally conservative but socially tolerant.'' (The ''fiscally conservative'' refers to a one-time budget cut followed, the next time around, by a compensatory budget *increase*.) ''Socially tolerant,'' in the current atmosphere, means a devotion to the entire Left cultural agenda, from gay rights to compulsory multicultural propaganda and condomization in the public schools.

The radical shift leftward of the libertarian movement is reflected in their concrete political positions. In addition to civil rights and gay rights, the most fervent Official Libertarian enthusiasm is now directed toward school vouchers. Note that the major focus of the libertarian argument for school vouchers is that the range of ''choice'' by poor parents will be expanded; with vouchers in their pockets, poor parents will be able to choose to send their kids to private as well as public schools. But of course any thief finds his range of choice happily expanded; but expansions of welfare thievery is not supposed to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be the point of libertarian politics. For while the poor parent who receives vouchers will indeed find his choices expanded, the taxpayer forced to pay for the voucher will find *his* range of choice restricted by having to support the private as well as the public school system. And the parents who now send their kids to private schools, as well as the owners of those schools, will find *their* choices restricted because their schools will now come under the heel of Leviathan: as federal, state, and local regulations come thumping down on the previously self-regulating private schools. For one thing, private schools will no longer be able to keep out the poor, inner-city kids who are to be the main recipients of taxpayer largess.

Indeed, an egalitarian assault on suburbia on behalf of the inner-city poor is one of the major points of the school voucher program. For one of the monstrous aspects of the school "choice" scheme is that it serves as a substitute for the old failed forced busing program: Part of the Left libertarian agenda is an attempt to centralize, to destroy pockets of local self-government. Many suburbans having fled the crime, welfare, and rotting housing of the inner cities, have managed to carve out for themselves decent schools, even though they are public. For these schools have been more or less under local parental control and local taxing authority. Welfare egalitarians have been trying for many years to destroy suburban "segregation" and to force them to coalesce with the inner cities and suffer their problems; school "choice," which will tear down separate suburban districts, is a sinister method of accomplishing this very goal. Thus, voucher plans generally require states to equalize spending among public school districts, and the California school voucher plan, highly touted among libertarians, would explicitly force suburban district schools to accept children from inner cities if they have any room available. Indeed, if California's Prop 174 for school vouchers is defeated, the indignant suburbanites, at last realizing this fact, will have provided the margin of defeat.

An egalitarian assault on suburbia is one of the major points of the school voucher program.

Make no mistake, furthermore: school vouchers will bring control of the private schools in their wake. Government subsidy inevitably brings government control. The voucher scheme imposed in Milwaukee by the widely lauded legislator Polly Williams, forbids religious schools from participating, and the state of Wisconsin insists that private schools accepting vouchers will scarcely be able to discipline or expel their students, who will be accorded "constitutional guarantees" of due process. A fortunately failed Florida proposal would have prohibited single-sex schools from the program and prevented religious schools from "discriminating" in admissions in favor of students of their own religion. Even the California proposal, which tries to avoid increased controls over the voucher-redeeming private schools, prohibits all "discrimination" based on race, ethnicity, color, and national origin.

In her excellent article on school vouchers in the *American Spectator* (November), Charlotte Allen quotes one of the voucher advocates in the *Wall St. Journal*, who declares that "the best choice plans are accompanied by effort to equalize funding among districts...help parents make thoughtful decisions; prohibit school admissions tests."

Even more chilling is Miss Allen's report from Dirk Roggeveen, chief litigator for the aforesaid Institute for Justice. The Institute is suing in the courts in Chicago and Los Angeles to try to accomplish the voucher scheme within the judiciary. The argument: that vouchers and the abolition of local school districts are necessary to insure the "inner-city students' constitutional right to a 'quality' education"! And so *this* horror is what so-called "libertarians" are now reduced to: trying to use the courts to enforce a "right" to a "quality education"! The "right," of course, to be supplied by the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hapless taxpayers.

The assault against local control is part and parcel of the new tidal left-wave of Official Libertarians. More and more, they thirst to use ever larger bodies of government to enforce "rights" (whether legitimate or not) that are not being sufficiently guarded or provided by local instruments of government. The Forgotten *Tenth* Amendment has not only been ignored; it is being reversed. Thus, Clint Bolick, the major "libertarian" theoretician for the Institute for Justice, recently published a book denouncing *Grassroots Tyranny* as the glaring major evil of our time—this in an era when we are groaning more and more desperately under the despotism of Big Brother in Washington!

The fervor for the misnamed North American Free Trade Agreement (Nafta) by Official Libertarians is part of the same syndrome. At the very least, an unwarrantedly large amount of resources—money, energy, propaganda—have been devoted by the slew of "free-market think tanks" to agitating for Nafta. But a particularly sinister aspect of this agitation has been an eagerness to pooh-pooh any problems in, or even to look benignly upon, the network of supra-governmental commissions, panels, and advisory boards, that would be entailed by Nafta. These higher structures of government would be unaccountable even to national publics; they would be supergovernments, levitating above the action.

Decentralization is vital because the smaller the government, and the closer it is to its subjects or constituency, the more they will be accountable to and removable by that public. But just as national government is far less accountable than local, the absolute worst would be world government: supra-governmental bodies accountable to no one. And while "grassroots tyranny" by one town or village can easily be avoided by moving to the next town; how will we be able to escape world government tyranny?

It is high time we put it to the Official Left-Libertarians: do you favor world government as a way of getting around "national" tyranny? And while Left libertarians have as yet shown no strong signs of embracing foreign intervention—even though they have taken pains to assure respectable opinion that their non-intervention is moderate and prudential and not really principled—they don't seem to realize that, say, for a world governmental body to guarantee the "rights" of Somalians against warlords, will lead ineluctably to US/UN shooting of Somalians in the name of supposedly protecting their rights. To call upon ever larger jurisdictions of government to make up for deficiencies of the smaller, implies both world government and eternal American intervention in foreign affairs for the sake of the "freedom" of countries on the receiving end of the intervention.

It is not even clear that the Official Libertarians still oppose the welfare state. They might not yet embrace the welfare state with quite the same enthusiasm as their friends the neocons, but there is a definite Kempian streak to much of the new Left-Libertarian program: maintaining or not dwindling the welfare state while piddling away at the margins with some privatization and some "empowerment"—the latter actually expanding the welfare state. And of course the school voucher program, as we have seen, is tantamount to aggrandizing the welfare state as well as control over the private schools. And Clint Bolick doesn't want to bring down the welfare state until the "rules of the game" are no longer "rigged" against the disadvantaged, which will mean, in the last analysis, until "equality" is achieved. In the meanwhile, Dr. Nancy Lord, attorney and physician, who was the Vice-Presidential candidate of the Libertarian Party in 1992, explicitly advocates both the welfare state and anti-discrimination laws.

And then there is Dr. Mary Ruwart, a Michigan biologist who has been a star attraction at Libertarian Party conventions since 1983, when her New Age-like call for Love and Unity almost swept her to either the Presidential or Vice-Presidential nomination. Mary Ruwart's new book, with the revealingly sappy title, *Healing Our World*, has received the acclaim of "Modal," or Left-libertarians, across the country. The book is explicitly geared to converting left-liberals to libertarianism. Here are three of her featured arguments: that liberty "promotes an even [i.e. equal] distribution of wealth"; that it "achieves zero population

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

growth" (Huh?); and that it has already "increased the endangered elephant population in Zimbabwe by 33% in a single decade!"In short, for Mary Ruwart, liberty is good because it is allegedly egalitarian, because it is anti-human (eliminates growth in the human population), and because it is pro-elephant (encourages growth in the elephant population)! Mary Ruwart's arguments for liberty may be bubble-headed, but they permit us to look deeply into the very soul of the libertarian movement—and that soul is in parlous shape indeed. If *this* is libertarianism, who needs it?

Another revealing glimpse into the mind of the Official Libertarian is the venture of the Cato Institute crowd into high moral theory: Jonathan Rauch's new book, *Kindly Inquisitors: The New Attacks on Free Thought*. Ostensibly devoted to the noble cause of defending freedom of speech, the book is actually occupied with bashing free speech! You might think that, in this day and age, the legions of the Politically Correct would be the main focus of the Rauch-Cato blast, but you would be wrong. For underlying the PC Brigade, Rauch sees the *true enemy*: People Who Think They Know the Truth. It is those who are certain of the truth that are the enemy of freedom. In short: "dogmatists" who believe in truth and virtue, in particular, Christians, are the enemy. Thus, Rauch reserves his most acidulous barbs for "fundamentalists [who] want to protect the truth," and he vilely attacks Pope John Paul II for claiming to know the truth. Says Rauch: "This kind of claim—a power grab really—is illicit and repugnant."

Actually, it is Jonathan Rauch and his ilk who are "illicit and repugnant." For this is the standard left-liberal secularist bilge of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this idea that skepticism and uncertainty about the truth is the only guarantee of liberty. And indeed, Rauch's book reeks with the heroes of what he actually calls "liberal science" [his ideal—but an absurd phrase if there ever was one!]: C.S. Pierce and pragmatism, Bertrand Russell, Karl Popper et al. But Pontius Pilate, the mentor of all these worthies, was scarcely an outstanding example of resistance to tyranny! On the contrary, it takes firmness in truth—in the truth, for example, of the importance of liberty and natural rights—that enables people to have the courage to resist tyranny and to persuade others to resist. Liberty is safe only in the hands of those who *know* that liberty is a vital truth of human nature that needs to be safeguarded. While the Dean of skeptics, Michel de Montaigne, preached obedience to the absolute State in the name of prudence, the "dogmatic" Christian Church has, in the history of mankind, formed the major bulwark of the rights of person and property against State despotism.

The Rauch book abounds in assertion rather than argument. Just two points need be made about the argumentation. First, how can a firm case for liberty be made by someone who abjures all firm truth? And second, on the Popper criterion of falsifiablity—how is the truth of *this criterion* established? Is *it* falsifiable? How?

In his illicit and repugnant assault upon Christianity and truth, Jonathan Rauch, the alleged free-speech absolutist, does not *explicitly* call for stamping out the free-speech of "dogmatic" Christians, but anti-Christian fire and brimstone is implicit in his treatment. In fact he gives away the show all too explicitly by claiming that religious or "spiritual" matters have to be "marginalized" in society and kept away from any role in public moral and political debate. But how does Rauch propose to do so without eventually relying on force? Rauch's leftist friends indeed succeeded all too well in this century in "marginalizing" Christians and other conservative partisans of truth; and it is precisely the attempt of Christians to take back American culture and American politics that accounts for the hatred of Pat Buchanan and of all of us in the Buchananite movement that animates all left-libertarians.

The totalitarian spirit of left-libertarians and their willingness to crush freedom of speech is revealed in a paean to the April Gay March on Washington by Brian Doherty, one of the editors of the bi-monthly *Liberty*. In his peroration, Doherty concludes that the "preservation of civilization depends far more on suppressing hate, violence, and prejudice than on suppressing those *people* who choose to make love with members of their own sex." The operative phrase here is the need to "suppress" "hate" and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"prejudice." Apparently, the freedom to hate or to be "prejudiced" is one crucial aspect of natural rights, that Big Government libertarians propose to stamp out by club and bayonet.

How did the Official Libertarians make the radical leap into Big Government "libertarianism"? How did they manage to transform themselves from radical individualists and champions of property rights, into pro-civil rights, pro-gay rights, welfare staters who are increasingly willing to use coercion to stamp out "hatred," "prejudice," "discrimination," and "dogmatism"? How could they move so far so fast? Simply noting their sellout to Power, their accommodation to the mainstream, is not enough to explain this remarkable shift. A more crucial explanation lies deep within the character, the basic attitudes and world outlook of these typical, or "Modal," libertarians. These basic attitudes made it easy for Official libertarians to subvert their original ideology and end up with its seeming opposite.

Let us examine the profile of the Modal left-libertarian: a profile that applies to the comfortable D.C. thinktank analyst as well as to the scruffiest libertarian nomad. The Modal libertarian is a hedonist and a narcissist. What he hates and reviles is not so much the State as all external social pressures that prevent or discourage him from "doing his thing," from his pursuit of hedonic goodies: drugs, all forms of sex, and generally leading a sporadic and dissolute life. The Modal libertarian identifies these external pressures with various social institutions: the State indeed, but more deeply, his bourgeois neighbors, his family, and the Christian Church. Scratch any Modal Libertarian and you will find the exclamation that the "State" and the "Church" are twin co-oppressors of the individual, with family and neighbors not far behind. The Modal libertarian, in short, is an arrested and now aging adolescent, in permanent rebellion against institutions and moral principles that he sees as a check rein on his wayward appetites. Scratch any Modal, therefore,

Rating Senate Republicans

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development ["The World Bank"] is a Bretton Woods institution which is still around to plague us. The World Bank is a key instrument of global interventionism by which American taxpayers are forced to prop up foreign client states of the Eastern Establishment and to subsidize Rockefeller-type investments abroad. On September 23, Senator Hank Brown (R, CO) offered an amendment to eliminate the $28 million U.S. contribution to the World Bank for fiscal 1994. A motion to table (kill) the Brown Amendment was passed by 55-44. While the Republicans voted against killing the Brown Amendment by 12-32, the votes of the 12 renegades could have provided the margin to save the Brown Amendment and begin to get us out of the World Bank. Pluses for the pro-Brown Amendment Senators; minuses for those who hold the World Bank higher than the American taxpayer.

Alaska	
Murkowski	+
Stevens	+
Arizona	
McCain	+
Colorado	
Brown	+
Delaware	
Roth	+
Florida	
Mack	—
Georgia	
Coverdell	—
Idaho	
Kempthorne	+
Craig	+
Indiana	
Coats	+
Lugar	—
Iowa	
Grassley	+
Kansas	
Dole	+
Kassebaum	—
Kentucky	
McConnell	—
Maine	
Cohen	+
Minnesota	
Durenberger	+
Mississippi	
Lott	+
Cochran	—
Missouri	
Bond	+
Danforth	—
Montana	
Burns	+
New Hampshire	
Gregg	+
Smith	+
New Mexico	
Domenici	+
New York	
D'Amato	+
North Carolina	
Faircloth	+
Helms	+
Oklahoma	
Nickles	+
Oregon	
Packwood	—
Hatfield	—
Pennsylvania	
Specter	+
Rhode Island	
Chafee	—
South Carolina	
Thurmond	+
South Dakota	
Pressler	+
Texas	
Hutchinson	+
Gramm	+
Utah	
Bennett	—
Hatch	+
Vermont	
Jeffords	—
Virginia	
Warner	+
Washington	
Gorton	+
Wyoming	
Wallop	+
Simpson	+

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and you will find that while the State is the most obvious coercer, that his deepest hatred is reserved for the Christian Church, the repository of social moral principles and norms. It is no accident, then, that Ayn Rand, the guru for almost all current libertarians, hated the Church far more than she reviled the State, and, given a choice, she would opt for the State any time. And, at the other end of the libertarian spectrum, individualist-anarchist historian James J. Martin, in his notable history of American anarchism, *Men Against the State*, deliberately excluded the mass of Christian anarchists from Ann Hutchinson down to the Rev. Henry Clarke Wright, because in his view Christians could never be included under the anarchist rubric.

There was no aspect of Randianism that attracted the Modal libertarian more than her paean to "selfishness"; accurately or not, the average libertarian interpreted the call for selfishness as a tribute to his own yen for irresponsible behavior heedless of others. It is no accident that "family" and children play virtually no role in Randian fiction, and that marriage is at best serial and attenuated. The typical Randian hero and heroine flap their adolescent wings, fly the familial coop, break with their family and neighbors, and strike out as lone Promothei for greatness and achievement. And that's about it.

I used to think that libertarians would never have kids; but, as they got older, they spawned children in the same irresponsible and hedonic manner as they behaved in other aspects of their life: serial kids, each with different adult Significant Others, very much in the mode of the rest of their corrupt generation.

In addition to being narcissists, Modal libertarians were always egalitarian, believing down deep that every person—of course including themselves—is an actual or at least incipient hero. The libertarian commitment to property rights was always superficial, never principled; essentially it was a squawk that society and the State had no right to take away *their* drugs, *their* guns, *their* money. The egalitarian belief that "discrimination" is always immoral and irrational, led the libertarians rather quickly to extol civil rights over property rights, and after that, it was easy for the other barriers to fall. And since gay "rights" followed quickly once "civil rights" was embraced, it was particularly easy for the large number of gay Modals to take the lead in this shift from the Old to the New, Big Government variant of Libertarianism.

The average libertarian interprets the call for selfishness as a tribute to his own yen for irresponsible behavior.

Big Government libertarians are, of course, far more odious and more of a living contradiction than Sam Francis's specimens of Big Government Conservatives. At least there is precedent in history for Big Government conservatism; there is happily no precedent for Big Government libertarianism. In a sense, of course, there *is* precedent: in the classical liberals of the nineteenth century who, in their hatred for the Church, actually worked for the establishment of public schooling as a less noxious alternative. But these classical liberals, who included French and Italian liberals, von Humboldt in Germany, and many Jacksonians in the United States, at least did not call themselves principled and consistent "libertarians." It remained for our contemporary Modals to forge this new and noxious variant of political thought. It is ironic that, in their vain quest to become Randian heroes and Promethean innovators, that *this* is what they have come up with. Innovation is, of course, not always a good thing; only narcissists could think that. In this case, innovation has brought us not "Rearden metal," but the degeneration and perversion of a noble creed.

What has been and will be the response of these worthies to our paleolibertarian critique? The answer is simple: they have no arguments, they are creatures of mood, and so their only response is to use the loathsome smear tactics of their comrades on the Left: to call us

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

smear names that cut off thought and engender emotive hate response: "racist," "sexist," "homophobic," "anti-Semitic," "mean-spirited," and perhaps the rest of the panoply: "ageist," "lookist," "logist," and what have you. It doesn't matter: in the mouths of this generation of vipers, smear labels become a badge of honor. It all reminds me of two characters in a Dostoevsky novel. One insults the other at length, and the other guy says in effect: "You are *so low* that *nothing* you say could insult me!"

Is there anything left except the name "libertarian" to distinguish these Official Libertarians from regular, honest-to-God leftists? The answer is: not much, and less and less, as time goes on. Probably the average leftist is, by now, less anti-Christian and perhaps less egalitarian than Modal Libertarians. Since the economists among them still have a vestigial affection, on efficiency grounds, for cutting marginal tax rates of upper income groups, we will probably see the better-heeled Officials opting for their bosom buddy, the left-neocon Jack Kemp, although their hearts may be for Bill Weld, while the more nomadic types opt for Nancy Lord on the Libertarian ticket in '96. But it makes little difference: the entire crew is as scurvy a lot, both in person and in print, as one is ever likely to meet.

In the continuing argument over abortion, pro-lifers like to twit pro-choicers about all the wonderful people the world would have lost if their mothers had chosen to abort them. But the argument can cut both ways. In contemplating the current generation of Big Government libertarian turncoats and renegades, the case for retrospective—or even retroactive—abortion begins to seem overwhelming. ■

The Anti-Clinton Election

by M.N.R.

There have been seven major elections since the black day in November that the monster Clinton was chosen President; and every single one has been a thumping repudiation of Slick Willie and all of his works. Soon after the presidential election, moderate conservative Paul Coverdell upset the Clintonian incumbent Senator from Georgia, Wyche Fowler. Then the moderate conservative Riordan upended the multicultural leftist Woo to become mayor of Los Angeles; and moderate conservative Kay Bailey Hutchison captured Lloyd Bentsen's seat as Senator from Texas. It was all very well for the Clintonian media to claim that all these races were local and constituted no referendum on Clinton; but in each case, except L.A., the Clinton Administration urged the voters to support it by backing the Democrat; and even though Democrat incumbent Robert Krueger tried to run to the right of Clinton, the President sent his Number 2 campaign honcho, Paul Begala, to Texas to run the Krueger campaign, and it was a particular joy to see Begala end up with egg on his face as he engineered disastrous TV spots that made Krueger look like an idiot. And in the last race before this November, militant Christian conservative Mike Huckabee—the *other* man from Hope, Arkansas—pulled the remarkable feat of beating the odds-on favorite, President Clinton's hand-picked buddy, for Lieutenant-Governor of Clinton's home state of Arkansas. That was four for four against Clinton.

Every single vote has been a thumping repudiation of Slick Willie and all of his works.

This November there were three major races, each a test of the Clinton Administration. In New York City, the nerdy disaster David Dinkins, the city's first black mayor, though running on the Democratic ticket in an overwhelmingly Democrat city, was beaten by 2.5 points by Republican nominee Rudy Giuliani. The Giuliani victory came even though President Clinton stumped the city several times for Dinkins, even stooping to condemn whites who failed to vote for people differing from them. This racist remark by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Clinton was particularly nervy because, in the previous Dinkins-Giuliani race in 1989, about thirty percent of whites had voted for Dinkins, whereas Dinkins corralled about ninety-five percent of the black vote. *Which* racial group was failing to vote for different folk?

Particularly sweet was the New Jersey voters' repudiation of their monster Governor Jim Florio, who went back on his "no new tax" pledge when elected four years ago by promptly socking New Jerseyites with the biggest tax increase in the state's history. While Florio's popularity plummeted for a while, popular amnesia, coupled with a continuing barrage of pro-Florio propaganda by the media, hailing the thuggish Florio's "statesmanship," seemed to revive the governor's approval rating. This summer, indeed, Florio's Republican opponent, Christine Whitman, ran such an abysmal and bumbling campaign that Florio spurted way ahead in the polls, and the Democracy and the media were hailing the idea that high taxes and repudiating a no-tax pledge was, happy day!, no longer poison at the polls. La Whitman, a country-club moderate, was unhappy with proposing tax cuts or with attacking Florio's tax record. Refusing to attack the incumbent, Whitman passively allowed the Florio forces, led by Number 1 Clinton campaign *maven* James Carville, to portray her as ignorant and out of touch with the New Jersey masses. She also surrounded herself with incompetents, led by her left-liberal brother as her campaign manager.

Not only did Clinton stump New Jersey for Florio, but so too did the Boss Lady Herself, Hillary Rodham, who called on New Jersey voters to "send the nation a message" in the Florio election. Hillary made no bones about proclaiming Florio as her kind of Democrat. Well, New Jerseyites sent us all a message, all right, by sending High Tax Florio packing by a margin of two percent, snatching victory from the jaws of defeat. A key move that turned the election around was when Mrs. Whitman roused herself last summer, deposed her inept brother, and brought aboard the savvy con-

Quotes That Need No Comment

Though Alexander Cockburn and Patrick Buchanan approached the subject somewhat differently . . . they had total agreement, an amazing feat in itself, on one point: Yeltsin is a dictator. Considering the extra-constitutional (read illegal) measures Yeltsin continues to take to eliminate his political opposition . . . , it is even more amazing to see how everyone (including our own democracy-loving government and free press) continues to see this man as the only hope for democracy in Russia.—A. Jan, *Los Angeles Times*

An English professor at Penn State causes a reproduction of a Goya female nude to be removed from her classroom because she feels oppressed by it. As a feminist student activist tells us, paintings like Goya's are "a form of pornography" that rose because "Playboy wasn't around back then."—Rod Dreher, *Washington Times*

The Russians and we produced nuclear weapons to flourish at one another and played the game of calling bad names when there had been nothing at issue between us that need have prevented our living in the same world and when we were actually, for better or worse, becoming more and more alike—the Russians emulating America in their frantic industrialization and we in imitating them in our persecution of non-conformist political opinion, while both, to achieve their ends, were building up huge governmental bureaucracies in the hands of which the people have seemed helpless.—Edmund Wilson, *The Sixties: The Last Journal*

In *Patriotic Gore*, [Edmund] Wilson questioned the central myth of the American republic, which is also, paradoxically, the cornerstone of our subsequent empire—*e pluribus unum*—the ever tightening control from the center of the periphery. Wilson is pre-Lincolnian . . . . He sees virtue, freedom, in a *less* perfect union. Today's centrifugal forces in the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia he anticipated in *Patriotic Gore* where, through his portraits of various leaders in our Civil War, he shows how people, in order to free themselves of an overcentralized state, are more than willing, and most tragically, to shed patriotic gore.—Gore Vidal, *The New York Review of Books*

Wilson's meditation on the Civil War and war and the nature of our state was published and: "There is shock after shock," as Penn Warren put it, "to our official versions and received opinions." But . . . unhappily, many others are in place to act as shock-absorbers. They also shroud the martyred Lincoln with his disingenuous funeral address at Gettysburg in order to distract attention from the uncomfortable paradox that his dictatorship—forbidden word in a free country—preserved the union by destroying it.—Gore Vidal, *The New York Review of Books*

One does get the impression that the Jews regard themselves as having a monopoly on suffering, and do not want the Negroes to muscle in.—Edmund Wilson, *The Sixties: The Last Journal*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

servative campaign manager, Ed Rollins. Rollins' stress on activism and positive ideas led Whitman to adopt and push the thirty percent tax-and-expenditure-cutting plan of editor Steve Forbes and free-market economist Larry Kudlow. Positive emphasis on tax-cutting by Whitman pulled out the election, and this redoubled the importance of the "message" of the New Jersey election.

Finally, in Virginia, the robotic former State Attorney-General Mary Sue Terry was literally crushed for the governor's race by the youthful conservative and religious rightist George Allen, by a vote of 58 to 41 percent. Mary Sue Terry suffered by being a part of the ruling Democratic establishment in Virginia, and by being in the same party as the hated President Clinton, even though Terry tried her best to ignore the presidential scene. Once again, Terry began far ahead, and then Allen came up in a marvelous surge, to become the first Republican governor of Virginia in many years.

While Terry tried to distance herself from Clinton, she flopped by being "tough on crime" the Clinton-liberal way: that is, by calling for more severe gun control. Virginians were easily able to see through this ploy, and to back the conservative Allen route of being tough, not on "guns," but on *criminals*—in his case, calling for an end to parole, and for keeping violent criminals in jail. Allen also took a sensible stand on abortion. Whereas Terry was an all-out abortion rightser, Allen called for parental notification before minors could have an abortion. To the average person, it seems bizarre that minor children must have parental consent before getting any surgical procedures in general, but don't need to when it comes to an important operation such as abortion. Even women, who seem these days to be far more leftish than men, voted for Allen, perhaps aided by the fact that Allen is a handsome family man whereas pro-Allen militants like Ollie North pointedly claimed that the Virginia governor's mansion needs to be filled by a happy family with children—a pointed reference, not merely to existing bachelor Governor Wilder, but to the fact that the rather severe and unsmiling Mary Sue Terry is both unmarried and childless, a fact calculated to raise eyebrows in socially conservative Virginia. And so it's a consistent seven for seven against Clinton. The only disappointment of the November election was the defeat for Virginia Lieutenant Governor of the heroic young Christian paleolibertarian Mike Farris. Farris, a bright 42-year old attorney and Baptist minister, a prolifer and religious rightist, is a major leader of the wonderful home schooling movement, author of books on home schooling, and founder and president of the Home School Legal Defense Association. Smeared by liberals and "moderates" as a religious theocrat, and a school censor, Farris simply is promoting home schooling and the right of public school parents to pull their kids out of compulsory condomization or from having to study books offensive to their faith. Rather than a "theocrat," Christian paleo Farris wants the State off the back of himself and fellow Christians. What's wrong with *that*?

Unfortunately, Farris's race was sabotaged by liberal Republicans from the very beginning. They were incensed when Farris, backed by the religious right, won the Lieutenant-Governor nomination at the June GOP convention, beating left-wing Republican Bobbie Kilberg, former Bush White House aide. Farris pointed out that the Republican liberals' call for a "big tent" has to work both ways: neither wing should be driven out of the party, and each should support the others' candidates. But while Republican rightists loyally supported Coverdell and Hutchinson when *they* won the primaries, the Republican left, put to the test, viciously sabotaged the Farris campaign: including Kilberg and the Republicans for Choice. Liberal Senator Warner (R., Va.) viciously refused to support Farris, but Allen, to his credit, backed his running mate. The result of this liberal sabotage is that Democrat Donald Beyer defeated Farris by 54 to 46 percent of the vote. But this is only Farris's first race, and he did commendably well, getting considerable more votes (785,000) than Terry did in her gubernatorial race (730,000). So we can expect to hear more of young Farris in the future. But the Republican Left should be put on notice; any more of these shenanigans, and conservatives will walk anytime a Republican liberal is nominated; and then it will be war to the knife.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New York City election bears more detailed analysis. Giuliani's 34,000 vote majority was made possible by victories in the conservative boroughs of Queens and Staten Island, the latter alone providing the margin of victory. The usually heavily Democratic borough of Brooklyn only carried for Dinkins by a small majority, the Italian district of Bensonhurst going for Rudy by nearly 7 to 1.

The centerpiece of the New York election was the interconnected issues of crime and "quality of life"—the latter meaning domination of the New York streets by muggers, robbers, aggressive begging bums, crack dealers, and piles of rotting garbage. Things had gotten far worse under the four years of Dinkins, a passive boob who only stirred himself every fall to reroute airplanes out of LaGuardia Airport to make sure that no noise would disturb his beloved national open tennis tournament at Flushing, Queens.

The policy of passivity was a deliberate one, designed to permit the black masses to "vent" their frustration.

The biggest single black mark against the Dinkins regime was the disastrous race riot in Crown Heights, Brooklyn in August 1991. In the Crown Heights riot, an accidental killing of a black child by a car in the entourage of the Lubavitcher Rebbe, Menachem Schneerson, on his weekly trip to his wife's grave, touched off a massive three-day black riot. It began when the Hasidic Jewish driver of the offending car was beaten, robbed, and almost killed by a black mob, which, for three ensuing days and nights, roamed the streets of the area shouting "Kill the Jews!," by which they meant the identifiable black-frock-coated Hasidics who had remained in the Crown Heights neighborhood. Finally, a visiting Australian Hasid, Yankel Rosenbaum, was indeed killed by a black mob, and his brother Norman has popped up from time to time as an avenging angel, seeking justice. One problem for Dinkins is that the festering sore continues, since the alleged killers of Rosenbaum were freed by a mostly black jury, despite seemingly overwhelming evidence against them.

An even deeper problem out of Crown Heights for Dinkins was the fact that his police force surrounded the Crown Heights area, and for three days stood there doing nothing to interfere with the rioters, even retreating when the mobs taunted them and threw rocks at the police. It was only on the third night when the police finally moved in, cracked down, and put an end to the continuing riot. Why did Dinkins and his black Police Commissioner, Lee Brown, do nothing for these three fateful days? (This is the very same Brown who was promoted, from this egregious failure, to become President Clinton's Drug Czar.) The official view is that Dinkins and Brown suffered from a strange languor and passivity, a sort of *folie a deux*. Continuing Jewish agitation in New York, coupled with the unavenged murder of Yankel Rosenbaum, spurred Governor Cuomo, in late 1992, to appoint state investigator Richard Girgenti to head a one-man investigation of the Crown Heights riot.

This summer, as the mayoral campaign was heating up, parts of the Girgenti Report, in the time-honored manner, were leaked to the press, and the news was not good for Mayor Dinkins. It turns out that Dinins and Brown only moved when the police, sickened at being ordered to do nothing to stop the carnage, finally threatened to mutiny, and not to report for work unless they were permitted to move against the rioters. It was only then that Dinkins caved in. While the official Girgenti report was apparently softened to avoid condemning Dinkins and Brown for anything more than their curious languor, rumors persist that the policy of passivity was a deliberate one: designed to permit the black masses to "vent" their frustration at the accidental death of the black boy, plus, of course, at four hundred years of oppression and racism.

As a result, Crown Heights was uppermost on New Yorkers'

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

minds this summer, and the result was a considerable weakening of Jewish enthusiasm—even by the traditionally left-liberal Jews of Manhattan—for the Dinkins regime. Long-time Jewish liberals were slow in endorsing the Mayor, or even in signing his petitions. And while liberal Jewish districts in Manhattan still went for Dinkins, they were not with the huge majorities, or turnouts, of yesteryear.

There was little enthusiasm for the liberal Republican Giuliani, but, as a long-time prosecutor, his image of being tough on crime stood him in good stead. Giuliani's victory was made possible by the return of the legendary founder of campaign consulting, Little Napoleon Dave Garth. The campaign of the liberal Garth repelled conservatives, but it succeeded in humanizing Giuliani's image. New Yorkers now want a tough Mayor, but not a mean one, and Garth got Rudy to change his severe hairdo, smile more, and walk the streets kissing babies of every ethnic hue. Indeed, in playing the unity card to the hilt after his victory, Rudy Giuliani uttered what was probably the Repellent Phrase of the Year from any politico: "I promise that no ethnic group in this city will escape my care." No, no, let them "escape your care," Rudy!

A great campaign consulting story has emerged from this campaign. Shortly before the election, Dave Garth had a public debate with the almost equally legendary top consultant for Dinkins, the leftist Bob Shrum. After the debate, Garth came over to Shrum: "Well, kid, you may be a better debater than I, but I'm going to win on Nov. 2." And of course Garth was right.

An important lesson for rightists has also emerged from the Dinkins-Giuliani campaign. Many conservatives and libertarians have been hankering for a rightist third party, not a sectarian one like the Libertarians, but a broad coalition for right-wing populism. The idea of such a party would be to act as an implacable club upon the Republicans, so that if the Republicans nominated another Rockefeller-Bush type, the new party could nominate one of its own people, and break the Republicans until they wised up. As a veteran third-party person myself, I confess to a sneaking fondness for such a tactic.

But the Conservative Party has been pursuing this tactic in New York for many years, and with considerable success. The Conservative Party was founded on such a strategy, it has long-time name recognition in New York, and it has no trouble getting on the ballot. It has, in the past, obtained hundreds of thousands of votes for its candidates. In this mayoral election, the Conservative Party, joined by the fourth or fifth leading state party, the Right to Life Party, nominated the intellectual and municipal bond expert George Marlin for Mayor. Marlin enjoyed seemingly ideal conditions for his race. A tall, humorous, articulate intellectual, an expert on Chesterton, Marlin was running against a Giuliani who is a committed liberal, a champion of every liberal cause including gay rights. Marlin received glowing coverage from the liberal press, enchanted both by his personal qualities and his neocon backing—backing that included ardent endorsements from Bill Bennett and the *Wall St. Journal*, as well as from the heroic Mary Cummins, who stopped compulsory multigendered education in the public schools, and brought down leftist School Chancellor Joe Fernandez.

Given all these advantages, how did George Marlin do? Did he provide the balance of power, or even get a decent percentage of the vote? On the contrary, George Marlin, despite his ballot status on two party lines, received only 16.9 thousand votes, a disastrous 0.95% of the vote. Less than one percent makes the typical Libertarian Party vote seem bountiful!

Well—if George Marlin can get only less than one percent on an established party line under ideal conditions, there is no hope whatever for a national third party in the foreseeable future. The broad right-wing masses are, for good or for ill, committed to the Republican Party, and it is within the ranks of the Republican Party that the battle of right-wing populism against country-club liberalism will have to be fought. It is all very well for the Republican Party to be a Big Tent, but it is a tent that the right-wing must dominate, not just for platform disputes, but for candidates as well, from the President on down.

On the ballot propositions in the election, the big news is the crushing defeat of the school voucher scheme in California,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a welfare-state Trojan Horse prepared for us by Left-Libertarians and deluded conservatives. The voucher plan, which received fervent and indeed hysterical endorsements from the entire media panoply of left-libertarians and neoconservatives, was totally crushed by a vote of 70 to 30 percent, losing in every one of California's 58 counties. The voucher scheme would have brought the private schools of the state under government control, but the measure was defeated because affluent suburbanites—the heart of the California electorate—came to realize that the voucher scheme was an updated compulsory school busing plan, that would have wrecked the fairly workable suburban schools by compelling them to accept inner-city youth who are often ineducable and criminals to boot. Indeed, a major credit for defeating the voucher Prop. 174 should go to our own Lew Rockwell, who, in a widely read article in the *L.A. Times*, clued the suburbanites to the dangers of school vouchers. Note, for example, this rueful retrospective on the defeat by ardent voucher supporter, Left-Libertarian Alan W. Bock, writing in the once hard-core libertarian, now neocon, *Orange County Register*:

"Even in Orange County, where voters might be expected to be philosophically friendly...[to vouchers]—but where the government schools do seem to be several notches above the quality of those schools in south-central Los Angeles and the rest of the state—a majority voted against giving parents in other parts of the state a fighting chance to opt out of the failing government system."

Giving parents "a fighting chance" is of course a euphemism for welfare payments extracted from long-suffering taxpayers. In a free society, there is no call for "vouchers" or for "expanding choice" by robbing taxpayers. The only good "voucher" is a dollar, a dollar that one can spend on any desired good or service, but of course the dollar, in a free society, must be earned by one's own merits, and not gained by robbing productive taxpayers. No one deserves more of a "choice" or a "chance" or "voucher" than he has earned on the market by productive effort.

Bock goes on with this recrimination that reeks of welfarism and egalitarianism at its most blatant:

"It's a sad but true aspect of the nature of most human beings that if they don't feel a sense of crisis about their own particular circumstances, it's hard to develop the kind of empathy with those in worse circumstances that will impel people to act to relieve those others."

Scratch a "libertarian" these days, and you will find...a leftist. ■

Bosnian Update: No Peace, No Peace-Keeping

by M.N.R.

The quintessential craziness of the Bosnian situation is embodied in this paradox: we are forced to cheer because the peace agreement failed in Bosnia, while the bloody conflict continues and expands. Why? Because our top priority is keeping U.S. troops out of the mess, and Slick Willie is pledged to send 25,000 U.S. troops into Bosnia *as soon as* a peace agreement is signed. The troops would be there to "keep the peace," whatever that may mean, and so that means no peace, no "peacekeeping" troops. No peace for Bosnia, means no war for the U.S.A.

The UN mediators had worked out a peace agreement, which the Croats, and the Bosnian Serbs, finally signed. The Serbs signed with great reluctance, for they would have had to give up the greater chunk of the Bosnian land that the Serbs had won on the ground, and cede it to the Muslim central government. But the Serbs were willing to sacrifice to end the crippling U.S./UN economic embargo, and to get the international force off their backs. For a while it looked as if the 25,000 American boys would indeed be shipped to police the Bosnian hell-hole. But fortunately, the Muslim authorities, after dancing around the issue, angrily turned down the peace agreement at the last minute, griping that they would not sign unless and until the evil Serbs were forced to give up all of the territory they had won by force of arms.

While good for the cause of U.S. non-intervention, however, the Bosnian Muslims acted like the spoiled fools that they are. Why did we at *RRR* hail the Bosnian Serbs when *they* failed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to sign an imposed peace, while we scorn the Muslims for a similar act? Because the Serbs were heroes, defying all of world Received Opinion, and willing to take on the rest of the world for what they believed to be simple justice. Whereas the Muslims only wish to resume their coerced imperial domination of Bosnian Serbs, and to do so, not in defiance of World opinion, but in an attempt to pressure the US/UN to pull Muslim chestnuts out of the fire. The nature of their defiance is the reverse of the Serbian; the Bosnian Muslims are not heroes, but poltroons.

The Muslims wish to resume their coerced imperial domination of Bosnian Serbs.

Since the Bosnian Muslim failure to sign, the cause of non-intervention is looking better and better. For now it has become all too clear that all three religio-ethnic groups are avidly engaging in "ethnic cleansing." The Croats and Muslims are battling each other fiercely. The dread Croat HVO has been happily killing Muslims, and now the Muslims have been pushing back Croats in central and southern Bosnia, and have been eagerly doing a lot of cleansing themselves. But if everybody's doin' it, then Americans find themselves incapable of intervening. For the American psyche is such that, in any given conflict, there has got to be only one set of demonized Bad Guys, cruelly victimizing one or more sets of Good Guys. Given one Bad Guy, Americans can psych themselves up to intervene for "Peace" and Justice, preferably heading some sort of international coalition of Good Guys, so that Americans can talk themselves into thinking that they are not being imperialist warmongers. But given a ferocious conflict among three sets of Guys, each of whom is Bad, and Americans are stopped in their tracks. Varying shades of gray do not make up the stuff of self-righteous Global Crusades.

In the meanwhile, while the Bosnian Muslim authorities are whining for world opinion about the perils of the coming winter, one wing of Bosnian Muslims is still enjoying unprecedented prosperity and peace with their neighbors. At the far western tip of Bosnia lies the Bihac district, an isolated Muslim pocket around the city of Bihac, totally surrounded by Serbs and Croats. One would think that these Muslims would have been all wiped out by now, and yet they are doing just fine, thank you. The reason: they are led by an uncommonly shrewd and far-sighted Muslim businessman, Fikret Abdic. Abdic has kept the peace with the Muslims' neighbors, and the Bihac pocket has prospered from a series of deals that Abdic has made with Serbs and Croats in the surrounding territory. Among all the Bosnian Muslim leaders, Abdic has been alone in denouncing the imperial ambitions and warmongering of the Muslim authorities in Sarajevo, led by the implacable Alija Izetbegovic. When the Izetbegovic regime insisted on defying the peace agreement, Abdic announced that he had had enough, and proclaimed a new, secessionist Independent Republic of Muslim Bihac. Promptly, the despotic and centralizing Izetbegovic regime sent Muslim troops out to crush the Bihac secessionists, who have organized guerrilla troops to defend themselves from their fellow-Muslims.

The irony: the Muslims of Bihac are in grave danger, not from the supposedly evil Croats or the more evil Serbs, but from their own co-religionists of the tyrannical Sarejevo regime! Let the neocons and the other Global Interventionists try to make some sense out of *that*! ■

Our Libertarianism, and Theirs

by Justin Raimondo

The process of researching and writing *Reclaiming the American Right* was, for me, a revelation. In searching through libraries and second-hand bookshops for evidence of the lost

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

legacy of the Old Right, and immersing myself in that world, I felt like a poor orphan who has finally come home—only to discover that a rich inheritance awaits him. The unique prose of Garet Garrett, the astringent and fearless voice of John T. Flynn, the thundering editorials of Col. McCormick, the far-sighted wisdom of Rose Wilder Lane—all these voices of the Old Right rang out and echoed down through the years, as if they were speaking directly to me.

It was a voyage of discovery, and also self-discovery, and I was thrilled—but one thing bothered me. Why had I not heard of any of this before? Having spent some 25-odd years as an activist in the conservative and libertarian movements, and being reasonably well-informed, it seemed distinctly odd that I had never heard very much about any of these people. I thought back to my youth, as an avid reader of *National Review*, then a young Randian, and later a Libertarian activist: if only I'd had access to this material fifteen years ago!

As I began to organize my material, and the book took shape, the answer to my question became fairly obvious. The reason I had heard nothing of the Old Right, in spite of all the lecture courses I had attended and the books I had read, was due to the fact that both the libertarian and the conservative movements had a vested political and ideological interest in maintaining a discreet silence. Obviously, Bill Buckley and the *National Review* crowd had a proprietary interest in maintaining the myth that Buckley invented the modern conservative movement. But what reasons could libertarians have in cooperating with this deception?

I did not cover this aspect of the question in my book, in part because I had not thought it through, but it has been nagging at me ever since, and so today I want to answer the question: how is it we somehow

Rating Senate Republicans

— Foreign Aid —

On September 23, the Senate passed the $12.5 billion foreign aid bill, the annual tribute which American taxpayers pay to foreign governments and U.S. export firms which receive the dollars in payment for goods shipped abroad. Interventionists want to make foreign aid perpetual, and the Senate collaborated by passing the new bill by a lopsided vote of 88 to 10, Republicans, of course, participated in this racket, voting for foreign aid by 36 to 7, with one Senator (Simpson, WY.) not voting.

A plus for the seven heroes who voted against foreign aid; a minus for everyone else, except for a 0 for Simpson. The seven hereos:

Roth (Delaware)
Kempthorne (Idaho)
Craig (Idaho)
Smith (N.H.)
Faircloth (N.C.)
Helms (N.C.)
Wallop (Wyoming)

— Killing the ICC —

Government agencies never die; they don't even fade away. One recent exception was the Civil Aeronautics Board, which was killed by Congress after it lost the power to regulate airlines. On October 4, Senator Danforth (R., MO) tried to mete out the same fate to the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), which can no longer regulate trucks or buses. Danforth's amendment was killed by tabling, on a vote of 39-52. To their credit, Senate Republicans voted against tabling, and thus for saving the $45 million annual ICC budget. The Republicans voted against killing the Danforth amendment, and thus to eliminate the ICC, by 34 to 7, with three not voting. Score a plus for all the Republicans except the following, who get a harsh minus, or 0.

Against killing ICC
Lugar (Indiana)
Cohen (Maine)
Packwood (Oregon)
Hatfield (Oregon)
Specter (Pennsylvania)
Pressler (South Dakota)
Gorton (Washington)

Non-voting
McConnell (Kentucky)
Durenberger (Minnesota)
Bond (Missouri)

— Confirming Dellinger —

On October 13, the Senate voted to confirm the highly leftist law Professor Walter Dellinger for head of the Office of Legal Counsel, by a vote of 65 to 34. Not only is Dellinger a leftist; his nomination violates the tradition of senatorial courtesy—of not insisting on an appointment opposed by the nominee's home state senators: in this case, North Carolina's Helms and Faircloth. Republicans, to their credit, voted a solid 34 to 10 against Dellinger. Plusses for all the Republicans except for the following Traitorous Ten, who went out of their way to support a Clintonian leftist as well as to slap their own Republican conservative colleagues, who apparently don't deserve to be included in the much-vaunted Republican moderate "Big Tent":

Pro-Dellinger

Mack (Florida)
Kassebaum (Kansas)
Cohen (Maine)
Durenberger (Minnesota)
Danforth (Missouri)
Packwood (Oregon)
Hatfield (Oregon)
Specter (Pennsylvannia)
Chafee (Rhode Island)
Jeffords (Vermont)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

managed to forget the true history of our own movement?

In the spring of 1978, I was hired on as a full-time organizer for a libertarian youth group known as Students for a Libertarian Society (SLS). It was the heyday of what has since come to be known as the Crane Machine, the network of libertarian thinktanks and institutions funded by Charles Koch, billionaire head of Koch Industries, and administered by one Edward H. Crane III. The chief cog in this Machine was, of course, the Cato Institute. In addition to putting out a biweekly periodical, *Inquiry* magazine, the Institute imparted to the libertarian movement a glossy veneer of respectability and what Crane used to call "reasonable radicalism." With Crane and Cato at the center, various other Koch-financed satellites sprang up: there was *Libertarian Review*, a "movement" magazine directed at the already-converted, with the colorful and brilliant Roy A. Childs Jr. at the helm. There was the Libertarian Party of California, which had offices right next to Libertarian Review at 1620 Montgomery Street, in San Francisco. Although for legal and strategic reasons there was no official connection between Cato and the LP, in fact "Boss" Crane ran the LP with an iron hand. And so they were wedged in-between *Libertarian Review* and the warren of offices inhabited by Students for a Libertarian Society. Across the street, at 1700 Montgomery, was the Cato Institute, where Ed Crane could keep a close watch on his subordinates.

SLS was wholly the invention of Crane and the Cato group. Although the Libertarian Party already had a well-established youth organization, in their typical manner Crane & Co. sought to create everything anew. This abhorrence of tradition was part and parcel of their ongoing effort to reinvent the libertarian movement, and it suffused the atmosphere in which the Crane Machine operated. Our attitude, back in those days, is best summed up by the phrase uttered by Howard Roark, the architect hero of Ayn Rand's novel *The Fountainhead*. "I stand at the end of no tradition/I may perhaps stand at the beginning of one."

Cut off not only from our own traditions, but from *all* tradition as such, we floated in an ideological and cultural void. You would think that in a youth group such as SLS, the main goal would be to educate the youth, and inculcate in them some knowledge of the history of the libertarian movement. This was definitely not the intent or method of SLS. You see, we considered ourselves to be *revolutionaries*, that is, creatures without precedent; we did not need the lessons of history, but only the power of our own certitude—and a million dollar budget.

The Leftward style and drift of the Crane Machine and its satellites was inevitable.

This hostility to tradition, and willful ignorance of our own origins as a movement, was not just hubris; there was an ideological and political angle, as well. For to educate young cadres in their own history would mean admitting that what later came to be known as libertarianism was born in the conservative movement of the thirties and forties. This kinship with the Old Right was something the Crane Machine was eager to cover up and deny, for cultural as well as political reasons. Conservatives were hated not just because Ronald Reagan used libertarian rhetoric and then only made a timid attempt to limit the rate of growth of government programs, and not just because of the Cold War, but also because it would offend the socially liberal yuppies and *New York Times* liberals the Crane Machine sought to somehow bamboozle into libertarian ranks. God forbid that the libertarian movement be confused with some sort of right-wing extremism! In the view of the Cato crowd, that would be the worst possible fate, and they were determined that it would not happen to them.

The Leftward style and drift of the Crane Machine and its satellites was inevitable, given their antipathy to any and all

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

traditions. Nature abhors a vacuum. Bereft of our own history and traditions, we in SLS followed the example of our elders at Cato and adopted the traditions and style of the dominant political culture: that is, we adopted the traditions and style of the liberal-Left. Even our name, Students for a Libertarian Society, was modeled on that of the most successful New Left group of the Sixties, Students for a Democratic Society. Instead of fighting the really-existing evils of State power, we spent most of our time hoping Jimmy Carter would bring back the draft; when he didn't we had to content ourselves with organizing nationwide demonstrations against draft *registration*. Most of the press coverage of this event described the demonstrations as a tepid rerun of the Sixties, a characterization that fit SLS to a tee. We were generals fighting the last war; worse, we were generals fighting *somebody else's* last war. Our total fixation on the Left was epitomized by the fact that the anti-draft registration rallies were scheduled on May 1, or May Day, as if by expropriating the traditions and symbols of an alien movement we could somehow absorb it. Instead, just the opposite occurred: we ourselves were absorbed. As the leftward drift of the Crane Machine accelerated, SLS devoted itself to tailing after every politically correct fad on campus, especially the left-liberal holy war against nuclear power. Membership began to dwindle, and a fierce faction fight broke out; by the time Charles Koch cut off the money, the activities of the organization were limited to spray painting slogans on walls.

Looking back on that period in my life, I cannot help but wonder: why didn't anybody teach us our own history? How could it have been that the best libertarian minds; the top scholars and activists, failed to give us a sense of our own history, some idea of who we were and where we came from? If we wanted to create an anti-war movement, and oppose the rise of an American Empire on which the sun never sets, then why didn't our elders tell us about the America First Committee? Led by such Old Right libertarians as John T. Flynn, and a whole generation of anti-New Deal activists, the AFC was a mass movement which very nearly averted US entry into the Second World War. But its valuable lessons and rich experience were unknown to us; suffering from ideological amnesia, we drifted from one fad to another, all the time desperately seeking some sense of solidity and continuity.

This was the great unrecognized problem, not only of SLS but of the entire libertarian movement, the source of all our problems since the founding of the Libertarian Party in the early seventies, up to and including the factional blowup that decimated the LP in the early eighties. As the libertarian movement dwindled in numbers, votes, and influence, it seems almost incredible that we did not understand why. *Having forgotten where we came from, we no longer knew where we were going.* By denying our own roots, we had paved the way for our own demise. Frittering away time, money and energy on a ceaseless round of mindless activism, we neglected the most fundamental tasks of building a movement: we had no heroes but the pantheon of fictional characters supplied by the novels of Ayn Rand, no martyrs, or high holy days, no traditions, no songs, *no sense of ourselves and our place in the world.* Is it any wonder that the libertarian movement was shrinking into insignificance?

The sectarian ignorance of the great bulk of libertarians was demonstrated and verified by their reaction to the greatest event of our time, the end of the Cold War. For their reaction was no reaction at all. At a time when many conservatives have come to challenge America's bipartisan foreign policy of global interventionism, they are pretending that the greatest political realignment since the 1930s is not happening. As conservatives take up the Old Right slogan of "America First," libertarians are deaf,dumb and blind to the great changes and opportunities. Not only that, but we find that all too often they are on the other side of the barricades. Oblivious to the dangers of a supra-national authority usurping Congress and the Constitution, they are *for* NAFTA. Eager to be seen by the Establishment as politically correct, they openly advocate what their "multi-cultural" allies on the Left only dream about: *open borders*. In those areas where politics and culture intersect, the "respectable" Beltway libertarians have abstained from

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the battle. For example: Why is it that the Cato Institute, which puts out an endless stream of policy analyses on every topic under the sun, no matter how obscure, has not one word to say about the ongoing attempt to pass so-called gay rights laws, which would forbid "discrimination" against homosexuals in private housing and employment? The reason is because any honest exposition of the libertarian position on this issue would line up the Cato crowd with Pat Buchanan, Jesse Helms, and Phyllis Schlafly, not to mention Murray Rothbard and Lew Rockwell. In their own eyes, this would make the Catoites guilty of a hate crime, subject to the dread charge of "homophobia." For them, cultural correctness comes before principled politics.

That the Cato group would eventually sell out libertarian principle was inevitable. That the LP would turn into a crankish sect was equally inevitable. Cut off from its historical and ideological roots, the modern libertarian movement was fated to wither on the vine.

The old libertarian movement is gone, finished. If a new and vital movement is going to rise to take its place, then we must get back in touch with those roots and rediscover the legacy of the Old Right. That is why I wrote my book: not only as a history lesson, but to serve as a fighting manifesto for a new populist libertarian movement in the Nineties and beyond. ■

Delivered at the *RRR* Conference, 10/31/93, San Mateo, Cal.

The Clarence Thomas Scam

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

David Brock's book on *The Real Anita Hill* (Free Press, 1993) does more than highlight inconsistencies in her Senate testimony. He also shows that conservatives are wrong about Clarence Thomas. Despite "efforts to portray Thomas as a right-wing ideologue," Brock writes, "his views on race relations were not conventionally conservative." To put it mildly.

Although Thomas called his youth "close to totalitarianism," he led a privileged life.

Although Thomas called the segregation of his Georgia youth "close to totalitarianism," he led a privileged life. He received, on racial grounds, free education at a parochial school near his home of Pinpoint, at a minor seminary near Savannah, and at a major seminary in Missouri.

Catholic parishioners had spent a lot of money on him, but Thomas dropped out of seminary when he overheard one student whisper to another after M. L. King, Jr., was shot: "God, I hope the s.o.b. dies."

Thomas called this racism. So does Brock. Or maybe it was the unconsidered remark of a college-age kid sick of secular hagiography. In any event, Christianity hardly requires us to venerate a fellow-traveler, habitual plagiarist, and world-class adulterer.

Thomas then attended Holy Cross College and Yale Law School on plush affirmative-action scholarships. "On graduating," writes Brock, "Thomas interviewed with a number of high-priced law firms but found the process dispiriting. Even though his law school grades were among the highest in his class, he was grilled about his academic performance going back to grade school, on the presumption that he couldn't have gotten through Yale on sheer brain-power."

Brock calls this "veiled racial discrimination." Thomas too said it was racist. But why shouldn't an employer investigate the qualifications of an affirmative-action baby? Grades in these cases seldom tell the whole story. As Brock notes, the schools "employed recruitment-type affirmative action, actively seeking out minority applicants who were fully qualified." (This is, of course, civil-rights doublespeak. Fully qualified applicants don't need special privileges.)

Offended by the attempts of potential employers to evaluate him, Thomas took a job with

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

liberal John Danforth, then attorney general of Missouri, and moved with him to Washington in 1979 to join his Senate staff.

It was at this point that Thomas began to feel estranged from the civil-rights movement, says Brock. Why? It was political ("he had views independent from theirs") and cultural ("The black elite also tended to be lighter-skinned than Thomas, who often recalled how he had been called 'America's blackest child' in his youth").

But just how did Thomas's views differ? As Brock explains it: "Though Thomas opposed racial preferences to guarantee equal results, he also supported affirmative action designed to encourage equal opportunity." Translation: both Thomas and the civil-rights movement believed that blacks are entitled to special treatment.

No civil-rights group admits to supporting "racial preferences to guarantee equal results." That may be the secret teaching, but even Jesse Jackson talks about affirmative action, not quotas, and equal opportunity, not equal results.

The distinction between "opportunity" and "results" is, moreover, simply a matter of time. Yesterday's opportunities are today's results, which become today's opportunities. For example, the equal opportunity to be president of the company requires equality going backwards in time. Equalizing opportunities and results, then, is effectively the same thing. That's why the left has never had to champion "equal results"; "equal opportunity" is quite enough to wreck any system of merit.

Thomas had no lack of privileged opportunity, however, and he was made assistant secretary for civil rights at the Department of Education in 1981. There, he opposed the Reagan administration's attempt to integrate black colleges. "Integration for its own sake," Brock writes of Thomas's view "should not take precedence over" educating "young blacks." Yet at the same time, Thomas wanted to integrate white colleges on the grounds that their very existence violated the 14th amendment's requirement that states treat persons equally regardless of race or color." Thomas also attacked the administration for resisting the removal of Bob Jones University's tax-exemption because the school discouraged interracial dating.

So, as Brock describes Thomas's views on race and education: white schools should be integrated; black schools should be segregated; and interracial dating should be tolerated at predominantly white schools. Did everyone agree with him? No, said Thomas: "There are a lot of racists in the administration."

Thomas was then promoted to the chairmanship of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, one of the most dangerous bureaucracies in DC. With one phone call from an official victim, the EEOC can attack any business in the country, force unqualified people onto its payroll, fine and smear its executives, and drive it into the ground.

Clearly, such an agency is incompatible with a free society, but Thomas loved it. He "professionalized the agency," says Brock, with "people who were skilled in a law enforcement model." As libertarian Clint Bolick of the Institute for Justice told Brock, "His view was 'nail the discriminator and make it hurt.' Quotas don't hurt. The EEOC changed from an advocacy group into an effective law enforcement agency." (Libertarians once believed in freedom of association, but most of them are now racial statists.)

At EEOC, some liberals charged, Thomas did not prosecute enough cases. Brock refutes that notion: "The number of discrimination charges considered for litigation authorization rose from 401 in 1982 to 764 in 1988. The number of cases where litigation authorization was granted rose from 241 to 554 in the same time period. More monetary relief for charging parties was won during Thomas's tenure; in 1980 the figure was $78 million for the year, while

The EEOC can attack any business, force unqualified people onto its payroll, fine its executives, and drive it into the ground.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in 1984 it was $145 million." Clearly Thomas had a passion for race-police brutality.

Even Thomas's vaunted opposition to quotas, Brock writes, didn't "prevent him from applying them as a remedy in cases where a company had a proven record of discrimination." And the "previously critical" *Washington Post* "ran what amounted to an editorial retraction, taking back its earlier judgment that Thomas had dismantled the EEOC and gutted its effectiveness."

Brock points out that Thomas "clashed repeatedly with the Reagan Justice Department, which wanted to roll back affirmative action plans already in place around the country." Moreover, "he also fought the orders of the Administration that he rewrite the agency guidelines that required employers to take race and sex into account in making hiring decisions." At the EEOC, Thomas discriminated against white males, practicing what Brock calls "a kind of voluntary affirmative action in his own staffing, going out of his way to give qualified women and minorities a chance."

Meanwhile, Thomas was publicly complaining that the Reagan administration wasn't promoting "a positive civil rights agenda" that took "into account the views of its own black appointees," according to Brock. Thomas even denounced the administration that had raised him to high office in a speech at the Heritage Foundation. "It often seemed that to be accepted within conservative ranks and to be treated with some degree of acceptance, a black was required to become a caricature of sorts...." He was then caricatured onto the federal appeals court for the District of Columbia.

During his confirmation hearings for the Supreme Court, Thomas shocked many conservatives with his strategy. When Hill accused him of sexually harassing her, he could have simply denied it. He could have called her a liar. He could have called her a politically motivated liar. Instead, he cried racism.

It was a "high-tech lynching" of an "uppity black man," he claimed. He said that his opponents—who work unceasingly to put blacks in the economic and cultural catbird seat—hated him because he was black. Yet Thomas was replacing another "uppity black man"

More Quotes That Need No Comment

What do we do when Boris Yeltsin dies? Given the man's uncertain health and intemperate habits, that is a question of some urgency. The Clinton Administration has gambled billions of taxpayer dollars, nuclear-arm control and the stability of one-sixth of the world on a model of autocratic rule that will come back to haunt.

With our full blessing, Yeltsin has destroyed any power other than his own.... Yeltsin remains a Bolshevik pure and simple, believing that the end justifies the means. He invokes the spirit of democratic centralism while destroying all those who dare depart from the obviously correct path.—Robert Scheer, *Los Angeles Times*

In interviews with journalists, [Steffen] Heitmann [Chancellor Kohl's handpicked candidate for President of Germany] has dismissed the idea that Germans should consider themselves citizens of Europe, calling the idea "intellectual nonsense." He has also confessed that he worries about Germany being "overrun with foreigners," and suggested that women should remain at home and care for their children rather than pursue careers.

Asked about the Holocaust, Mr. Heitmann said that it was a unique event, but added, "There are many unique events in history." He said it was time for Germans to break with "taboos" of history and insist that they should not be "placed in a special position for the rest of time."—*New York Times*

The Haitians who prevented our troops from landing there Monday did us all a favor. They alerted American public opinion to the possibility that hundreds of our troops may be sent to Haiti, creating a mini-Somalia, including more American deaths....Does our country have to stick its nose in every underdeveloped nation's troubles?—Dr. Harry Schwartz, *USA Today*

I want to give the president flexibility. It seems to me we ought to support the...president.—Senator Robert Dole (R. Kan.)

Pentagon officials said they believe the Somali clan-leader [General Mohammed Aidid] had foiled their efforts to locate him in part by communicating with his forces on simple walkie-talkies difficult to monitor with high-technology American listening gear.—*New York Times*

In Washington Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., gave voice to the other sentiment of the day: The U.S. should leave Somalia now.... Rep. Dick Swett, D-N.H., who has worked for [Michael] Durant's release, agreed. "New Hampshire is getting Michael Durant back, the United States is getting Michael Durant back and now it's time to get...our troops out of Somalia."—*USA Today*.

Like Somalia? You'll love Haiti.—Patrick J. Buchanan, syndicated columnist.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on the Supreme Court. Because of civil rights, in fact, uppity black men are among the most sought-after groups in the country. He was nominated to a series of high positions precisely because he was an "uppity black man."

How did conservatives respond to this racial victim story? Some loved seeing liberals get a taste of their own poison. Others were shocked when he gave conservative credibility to a liberal racket. But as we've seen, this was no anomaly: it was Thomas's lifelong record.

Because he is black, Thomas knew he could expect deference from guilt-ridden whites. And conservative whites can be the most guilt-ridden, because they have been called racists all their lives.

Thomas's strategy worked, of course. And now, in his time on the Supreme Court, he has shown us what sort of justice he is. He leans back in his chair when others lean forward. He barely opens his mouth in a forum where the questions and interjections of the other justices are incessant. He reads no newspaper or magazine, only the newsletter of what the *Wall Street Journal* calls his "beloved Dallas Cowboys." Nevertheless, his opinions by and large have not been embarrassing because others have had a hand in choosing his clerks. That could change, of course.

Since there is a thin line between a conservative racial victimologist and a liberal one, we cannot be surprised if Thomas becomes Thurgood Marshall's successor in more ways than one. As for the "real" Anita Hill, the most plausible story is still that Hill and Thomas were both lying. But we owe a vote of thanks to David Brock for his retelling of Clarence Thomas's life. ■

The Freedom To Hire and Fire

by L.H.R., Jr.

Should Congressmen be able to hire and fire as they see fit, while private business cannot? A debate on that question was recently sparked by three Oklahoma Congressmen (Republicans Ernest Istook and James Inhofe, and Democrat Bill Brewster) when they told the *Tulsa World* that they would not hire an openly gay staffer.

Barney Frank (D-Mass) blasted his colleagues, and while Speaker Thomas Foley was also critical, he said that House and Senate members should be free to make "personal judgments on the individuals that they hire in their personal offices."

Congress should treasure and protect its independence.

For years, conservatives have agitated to have the entire panoply of labor legislation applied to Congress. It's unfair, they claim, that business must abide by "fair" labor standards, including anti-discrimination law, when Congressmen don't have to. The *Wall Street Journal* is particularly enthused about bringing Congress under such laws.

A system of equality before the law rejects a two-tier model of citizenship. Yet Mr. Foley is right. As employers, he and other Congressmen need the freedom to make personal judgments about their employees. Third parties, with less knowledge of staff needs and office conditions, should not be able to veto employment decisions.

After all, subjecting Congress to the labor laws would further tip the balance of power in favor of the Executive. Presidential civil servants would have police power over the legislature. A Congressman might think twice about voting against a bill favored by Robert Reich if the Labor Department controlled his office. The same is true of any of the Executive agencies.

The President would be tempted to use the agencies under his control for subtle blackmail, and Congress would lose a margin of its independence. That may not matter to the *Wall Street Journal*, but since Congress is the closest thing we have to an institutional voice of the people, it should treasure and protect its independence.

There is still another reason Congress ought not to be sub-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

jected to the labor laws, and it's the reason Mr. Foley gave: Congressmen need to make "personal judgments on the individuals that they hire in their personal offices." No one knows better than the employer what kind of staff he needs to get the job done.

Consider how wage and hour laws would hurt Congress. If a Congressmen is working on an important piece of legislation to be voted on next week, he needs to be able to count on his employees to put in many extra hours. Restricted resources won't allow them to be paid overtime. And besides, most staff members are pleased to work long hours. They knew when they signed on that it was no 9-5 job.

If Congress had to comply with labor laws, staff might have to be cut, giving the Executive an even greater advantage. And many young people would lose the invaluable experience of working in a Congressional office.

It's no different with anti-discrimination laws. If an African-American Congressman is working on legislation to help the inner-city, and a white employee is uncooperative, what can he do? He should be able to fire the white person without the EEOC breathing down his neck. Similarly, Barney Frank should be free to fire non-gays, and Jesse Helms (R-NC) to hire white male cigarette smokers.

Congressional offices can only be efficient with a strategically chosen staff. The work is intense and the stakes are high. Employees have to be able to trust each other. The boss has to be able to trust his employees. And that trust can only come from voluntary and mutual consent, not through coercion.

And if this is true for a Congressional office, it's all the more true for business. Only 30 years ago, business was free to hire, fire, promote, and demote based on what was good for profits and the consuming public, rather than politics. Sixty years ago, employers could even offer flexible pay schedules, since there were no central commands from the Department of Labor.

Rather than end labor freedom in Congress, we should extend it to the whole country.

In those days, the American labor market worked much like Congressional offices today—that is, extremely well. Everyone who worked was genuinely wanted, and promotions and raises were fair and generally reflective of performance.

What about exploitation? Congressional staffers are "exploited" to some extent today, with long hours and high stress. Yet they gladly stick around because of the excitement and experience.

Rather than end labor freedom in Congress, we should extend it to the whole country. And consider, in general, doing the opposite of what the *Wall Street Journal* advises. ■

Envy vs. Capitalism

by L.H.R., Jr.

Envy may be the most socially damaging human failing, for it seeks to tear down those above us through big government. Resentful that you aren't as successful as someone else? Be a socialist, and degrade every man of achievement.

Of all the objections to capitalism, the envy-based are the most dangerous, for they have successfully fueled every egalitarian movement since Marx.

Who could be surprised that in the Age of Clinton, such arguments are again being taken seriously?

I refer in particular to *The Cost of Talent*, a new book by Derek Bok, former president of Harvard University. Successful Americans from corporate executives to tv stars are, he claims, rolling in dough they do not deserve. Meanwhile, the "best and the brightest"—government and university officials—are nearly homeless.

What to do? President Clinton's cap on executive pay, part of his gigantic tax increase scheme, is a good start. Bok's other solution is to drastically raise taxes on high incomes. That is pure envy. It's not enough to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pay needy politicians and professors more (though he favors that, of course). We must punish the financially successful.

Mr. Bok's thesis has been hailed in the *New York Times* as "courageous," but why? Belittling the capable hardly gets you into trouble these days. It might even get you appointed as Hillary's health salary czar.

Like the Clintons, Bok misses the point of capitalism. In a free market, salaries tend to match productivity, but no more. A corporate executive is paid just enough to prevent his leaving for another firm. If he creates more wealth, his pay can and should rise, of course. But the market can lower incomes as well, as it does for executives of failing companies. That is as it should be.

From socialized medicine to higher taxes, Clinton wants to punish the successful.

In a free society, the distribution of income reflects consumer values. That people would rather hear a monologue by Jay Leno than a lecture by Derek Bok indicates no flaw in the market. It simply means that the consuming public regards Leno as more socially useful. And who can gainsay them?

Like Bok, people who attack salary differentials are usually members of the "best and brightest," which is why their appeal to envy smacks of special pleading. The story about the fox who couldn't reach the grapes seems peculiarly applicable.

Mr. Bok may think he is more valuable than Bill Gates, the great Microsoft entrepreneur. But in a market, that fantasy has no effect. Bok could always try his hand at software, or a late night tv show for that matter, but it's so much easier to indulge one's grudges on plush foundation grants.

Bok is right only on one point: incomes must be set. The question is: who is going to set them, consumers or an all-powerful government? In a command society, which Mr. Bok favors, the government decides who gets paid what, and what work people do in the first place. Forgive me if I do not consider that desirable.

Ludwig von Mises, stunned by the number of envious intellectuals he met in the United States, wrote *The Anti-Capitalistic Mentality* to try to explain it.

In Europe, said Mises, the social elite incorporated a wide array of occupations. Actors, writers, lawyers, academics, and members of patrician families mixed comfortably with businessmen and senior civil servants.

But in the United States, "society" consists entirely of the richest families. There is little social intercourse between them and the nation's authors, artists, and scientists. "Those listed in the Social Register," Mises point out, "do not meet socially the molders of public opinion and the harbingers of the ideas that will determine the future of the nation."

The gulf that separates "intellectuals" from "high society" has helped breed resentment against wealth, Mises thought. Academics portray businessmen as barbarians, and especially despise the successful alumni who pay their salaries.

Why this phenomenon—separation between society and academia—is a special problem in America, Mises did not say. Nonetheless, as he noted, it hardly excuses the intellectuals who subvert capitalism, or those who would base social policy on the their malice.

Derek Bok is hardly alone in advocating that. He is backed by an envious media that trumpets the "unjust" wages of working executives and by an administration that seeks to institutionalize envy. From socialized medicine to higher taxes, Clinton and company want to punish the successful. We are never told why this unjust aim is desirable. The dirty little secret is envy.

Envy is a sin, and as the Russians discovered, indulging it socially leads to Hell on earth. ■

The Rothbard-Rockwell Report is published by the Center for Libertarian Studies, Post Office Box 4091, Burlingame, California 94011. (800) 325-7257. *Editors:* Murray N. Rothbard and Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr. *Contributing Editors:* Sarah Barton, Justin Raimondo and Joseph Sobran. *Publisher:* Burton S. Blumert. *Managing Editor:* Sybil Regan. Subscription: $49 for 12 issues. Copyright ©1993 by the Center for Libertarian Studies. All rights reserved. Unauthorized reproduction of this newsletter or its contents by xerography, facsimile, or any other means is illegal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED